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IMPERIAL FEDERATION!

STIRRING SPEECHES BY REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS!

His Grace Archbishop O'Brien declares it an
Insult to be told that Annexation
is our Destiny!

A public meeting was held in the academy of music Monday in advocacy of imperial federation. There was a large attendance of representative citizens and ladies. The platform was handsomely decorated with flags and bunting. Sir Adams Archibald presided, and among others on the platform were General Sir John Ross, commander of the forces in British North America; His Grace the Archbishop of Halifax, Rev. E. F. Murphy, P.P.; Rev. Canon Partridge, D.D.; Mayor O'Mullin, Rev. Dr. Hole, W. C. Silver, president chamber of commerce; Rev. Robert Laing, ex-Mayor Mackintosh, Rev. F. H. Almon, Rev. W. B. King, General Laurie, M. P.; J. E. Chipman, Judge Motton, Senator Almon, M. B. Daly, ex-M.P.; Dr. Oliver, Col. Stewart, John F. Stairs, ex-M.P.; Adam Burns, John Doull, Captain Rawson, R.E.; Joseph Wood and George E. Franklyn. The speeches created considerable enthusiasm, many of the points being greeted with hearty applause.

Sir Adams Archibald

said the meeting had been called for the purpose of laying before the citizens of Halifax the aims of the imperial federation league. Many present, he knew, had followed the history and progress of the movement, but there were some to whom the subject was comparatively new, and for the benefit of the latter he would repeat a few things that to the many were familiar. Thirty years ago the subject of imperial federation had been brought to the notice of the people of this country by the late Hon. Joseph Howe, whose splendid speech made in the house of assembly was not only read throughout Canada, but was reprinted and circulated throughout Great Britain. In 1884 Mr. Forster, one of England's most able states-

men, submitted to the imperial parliament a plan for the unity of the empire. Sir Adams briefly referred to other leading statesmen who had favored the idea. The colonies were getting along admirably with the mother country, but can this continue long? The population of the colonies was increasing five times faster than that of the parent country, and in a short time Englishmen out of England would outnumber those in that country. Under these circumstances it becomes necessary that some arrangement be made looking towards the preservation of the unity of the empire. The parent society has in it men of all political parties. The earl of Roseberry and Mr. Forster, two of Mr. Gladstone's right hand men, were enthusiastic supporters of the idea of imperial federation. He (Sir Adams) did not want to see politics enter into the discussions of the league. They must be kept out entirely, and he took it as a happy augury that so far the imperial federation movement had been entirely free from this. It was not proposed to put forward at this stage any scheme for carrying out the object sought by the league. That would come in good time, and after full discussion and careful consideration. No federation, he held, could ever take place that would interfere with the power of our local parliaments. The speaker referred to the vast possessions of Canada; the people of this country were beginning to feel that they wanted to be something more. There were imperial matters in which they wished to have a share. They no longer desired to enjoy the benefits without taking a share in the burdens. Sir Adams in closing, said the subject was one that made a speaker feel like dealing with at length. It was vast and all important. Time, however, compelled him to thus briefly touch on the objects of the association under whose auspices the meeting was being held.

Rev. D. M. Gordon

said he did not know what particular object the committee had in procuring such a

generous sprinkling of clerical speakers, unless it was that they being so far removed from politics were better able to look at the question of Imperial Federation with unbiased vision. He suggested as a fitting motto for the league Unity, Liberty and Charity. Rev. Joseph Cook, the famous American lecturer, had said that the British subject who did not take hold of the matter of Imperial Federation with enthusiasm was a Philistine of the first magnitude. Something was wanted to weld more firmly together the British empire. He took for granted that all wished to remain British subjects. There was a time in the history of the various portions of Canada when a desire to be joined to another country might have sprung up in the breasts of some, but that time had long gone by. To-day no Canadian statesman would dare stand up in parliament and advocate separation from the mother country. Should such a question arise he knew not who would be the most loyal, Sir John Macdonald or Alex. Mackenzie. And in the matter of English connection no one was more loyal than Edward Blake. We want to continue under the old flag, but our present connection with the British empire has not the elements for firmness. In the carrying on of internal affairs we have the utmost privilege, but in foreign affairs we are wholly dependent upon the mother country. We feel more like subjects. The desire is for a closer relation. And this the imperial federation league was seeking to effect. On the broad platform of the league all of the British empire can stand. No distinct scheme had been yet proposed. The league was not committed to any. It seeks to foster public opinion on the subject rather than to place before the people a cut and cried scheme for adoption. No statesman had yet been able to submit a plan, and only a dreamer would attempt at this stage to put forward a scheme and expect it to be successful. There were serious differences to be met. Fiscal arrangements to suit all the colonies, would be extremely difficult to make; but not impossible. Difficult questions would arise in case of war, but while we might not be prepared to join England in an aggressive war, we would readily take part in defending the mother country in case of an attack. Then there was the question of representation in the councils of Great Britain. These were serious questions which were met at the outset. But they were not insolvable. He believed in the power of British statesmen to handle difficult questions. When the colonial empire of Britain was first acquired, greater difficulties would then have stared any one in the face who might have proposed imperial federation. There was the distance of the colonies from the mother country. That had passed away through the medium of steam and electricity. To-day it was easier for England to communicate with the remotest colonies, than it was for England and Scotland to communicate at the time those two countries became one. Difficulties must not cause inactivity. We must go on until every stone has been

rolled away, relying on the ability of our statesmen to wrestle with the subject manfully and successfully. The league was doing good work in enlightening the public. A scheme of federation to be successful must spring from the people. The people must demand it and the statesmen must carry it out. Sentiment and opinion will grow until the movement becomes a grand success. He had great pleasure in moving:

That this meeting of Halifax citizens desires to express and record its gratification at the rapid progress which the idea of Imperial Federation has made, alike in Canada and in the mother country; and its confident hope that by continued exertions on the part of the League public sentiment will become more and more pronounced in favor of the objects which the League was formed to promote.

Rev. F. Partridge, D. D.,

seconded the resolution. He said: If I had taken alarm at the threats of a certain portion of the press of this city, I should not have had the honor of seconding this resolution to-night. But part of the reason why I was glad to be here, is that I might proclaim my entire reprobation of the endeavor which has been made to stamp this magnificent cause with the seal of party. If there is one thing more than another which retards the progress of the Dominion to which we belong, it is the virulence, the narrow-mindedness, the scurrilousness, the determination to impute bad motives, which characterizes the party press. Why should it be necessary to cover with abuse one who differs from you? Why should it be a tenet of legitimate political warfare to deny all prescience, all political foresight, all intellectual ability, all common honesty, to those who are on the opposite side of what after all is an open question? I came to this country, Mr. chairman, twenty years ago, an Englishman! Brought up in the strictest sect of conservatism. I am free to confess, that since I have been in this country, I have learned many things undreamt of before. I have learned that Britain has colonies. I have learned that British colonies have produced statesmen of the highest order. I have learned that responsible government is safely to be entrusted to every portion of this vast empire. I have learned that outside of Great Britain is a Greater Britain, the hearts of whose sons and daughters, if they are only allowed to do so, throb with love to their mother, and who regard the unity and stability of the empire as the highest aim of statesmanship. There are troubles in existence. There are strifes and divisions; but God rules. Above the malevolence of party strife, above the contention of creeds and races; infinitely above the smallness of crotchety individuals; truth and righteousness and justice abide and shall stand forever! Therefore, I, as a clergyman, rejoice to be present. I am honored in being asked to contribute to the forward motion of this great idea. I refuse to be included by anonymous writers in the ranks of those who would "stain their skirts with party war-

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fare." I have voted as I have felt. Where there is statesmanlike grip of passing events, where there is boldness and adaptiveness to the times; where there is fearless disregard of petty consequences; where there is the patriotic and broad sentiment which has led England through many a difficulty; there am I. And I do not hesitate to say, that where these things are, whatever be the name which the world accepts; whatever be the color or badges which distinguishes; there shall my influence help. I refuse therefore to be ticketed; to be accused of party manœuvring; I am here as a citizen of Halifax; as an adopted son of Nova Scotia; as a subject of an empire on which the sun never sets. Where love of country and home bears rule; where duty to humanity is the foremost thought; where opportunities and powers, and historical impetus drive, there let us tend; there let us lose party; there let the best minds of all shades concentrate. The federation of this vast empire is a grand thought. Even those whose narrow-minded selfishness and party spirit lead them to oppose, must admire it. Britain is an empire now such as the world have never seen. Alexander's dream was a great one. When he accomplished it on a very restricted field he died, and his kingdom was divided between four, who could not hold it. Napoleon also strove for universal dominion and lost it at Waterloo. But Britain's queen reigns over portions of all quarters of the habitable globe. There is no part of the earth over which the flag of the free does not fly. And the tendency of the age is to draw all the parts of her vast empire together. The empire is already federated in reality. When a few years ago the Russian guns thundered at the gates of Constantinople, and one day's march would have rained them admittance, never more to retire, what drove them back from the goal of their ambition? The hand of a trembling old man, tottering with years, but of terrorless instincts, which sent the British fleet up the Dardanelles, and brought the Indian thousands to fight their mother's battle! When England again needed a helping hand and the scorching sands of East Africa were slaying her soldiers, what brought the Australian contingent across the ocean but the love of mother England? What took Canadian Voyageurs up the Nile, but the desire to participate in the enterprise of the British flag, which ever waves over the oppressed and downtrodden. It is too late to oppose Imperial Federation. The sound of it is in the air. The mighty proposal has been launched and will yet ride the surging seas. What the cause needs is a leader. Let him be raised up, and take the tide at the flood, and it shall bear him on to victory. Britain has now an empire such as the world has never seen. She rules the waves and guides the destinies of by far the greater portion of the world. Federate her vast possessions, gather her children under one one flag; concentrate her unbounded wealth, influence, mind, religion, civilizing power; and you have the fulfilment of the dream of the ages past; and the embodiment of the Incarnation.

There are those who would annex, for small and selfish reasons, for pelf and for gold, this country to the United States. Granted, what I for one do not believe, that their petty politics prevail. Then we shall have the pleasure, by and by, of swinging along the United States as well in the glorious triumph which will attend the British empire. For to the English speaking race belongs the dominion and evangelization of the world. Every thing points to that. To that let the citizens of Halifax contribute their little part. To that let the vast resources of the British empire concentrate their power. To that great end, fraught with the blessings of civilization and religion, let the high endeavours and the earnest prayers, of her people and language, ascend to the Almighty arbiter of nations!

His Grace Archbishop O'Brien.

The second resolution was moved by His Grace Archbishop O'Brien:

That this meeting, while re-affirming, as a cardinal principle of Imperial Federation that the control of local Parliaments over local affairs shall remain wholly untouched and as unrestricted as it now is, nevertheless is of opinion that the time is at hand when a federation of the whole Empire must be formed in such a manner as to combine the resources of the whole for the maintenance of common interests and an organized defence of common rights.

His Grace said: The resolution expresses a cardinal principle of the federation league, and embodies its hopes and aspirations. For the grand aim and end of the federation league is to unite in bonds of amity, under conditions which may be mutually advantageous, the various lands which now constitute so many disjointed members of the British empire. These are now like the dry and scattered bones of the prophet's vision; but even as those bones came together and fell into place at the word of a superior power, even so do we hope to see each little isle, each distant province, each colony and state of this empire come together and knitted into one grand whole in which individuality will not be swallowed up in union, but unty secured and perfected by the guaranteed autonomy of each unit. This is our aim and end. In order to clear away the cloud of apprehension and suspicion that, consciously, or unconsciously for party purposes has been cast over this movement, permit me, sir, to make a few explanations. It is a first principle of the league and is expressed in the resolution that no encroachment is to be made on local governing power. No member of any branch in Canada, or Australia, would tolerate the suggestion that we should surrender by one jot or tittle our right of self-government. No sir; what our fathers won we will sacredly defend. The old colonial days have passed away; forever; their recall is as impossible as that of the years of

our childhood. The league is not a survival of the past; its voice is not the echo of hopelessly dead sentiments: its organization and its fibre are of the freedom of to-day; and its words are the aspirations of the widening future. If we look back, it is only to learn a lesson on the value of freedom; but we look ahead for inspiration. Our work is for the future more than for the present. The league is eminently a progressive movement. In this connection I may express, sir, my individual hope that we will soon outgrow one of the remaining leading strings which tie us to our mother's apron, viz: the getting of a governor-general from England. We can easily produce occupants better fitted for the position. As a self-respecting Canadian I own, sir, to a certain sense of humiliation when reading of the arrival or departure of a governor-general. What is only, as I would fain believe, lip-courtesy, is, I fear, taken seriously by those in England. Let us hope that all this may soon be changed. There is no danger then of encroachment on local autonomy to be apprehended from the league, and thus one of the bogaboos conjured up to frighten the unwary is effectually laid, without the help of bell, book, or candle. Closely connected with this vanishing goblin is another which appears to a certain class of our people. Some of those in favor of home rule for Ireland fear that imperial federation would retard, or render impossible the attainment of that object. This is not the place to discuss the question of home rule for Ireland; still I trust, sir, I may be pardoned a passing reference to it. From my childhood I have been in favor of it; to attain it I would bless and adopt every means within the ten commandments. So sacred, sir, is the virtue of justice to me, and the right of national liberty, that I deem them cheaply purchased by centuries of suffering. With these sentiments animating every fibre of my being, I believe and maintain that imperial federation would strengthen rather than weaken the prospects of home rule. My own conviction is that Ireland's right to self-government will be recognized in a very short time; then federation would perfect and safeguard it. But should my conviction not be realized in the near future, what possible injury could federation do to Ireland? Is not the overwhelming majority of Canada, of Australia and other self-governing provinces in favor of home rule? And if federated would not that vast majority, thus bound together, act to some purpose in obtaining for their fellow citizens their proper place as arbiters of their local affairs? Certainly reason, their own feelings and the logic of events would lead to this. Hence we may look upon this apprehension of home rulers as groundless; whilst on the other hand we can conclude local rights of each factor of federation will be secured and made permanent by imperial federation. But whilst we thus unhesitatingly assert, and are prepared to defend, the untrammelled action of local parliament over local affairs, and whilst we yield to none in love for the principle of free responsible government, still we think the time

is at hand, or is just approaching, when a federation of the various countries of the empire must be made for the common benefit of its parts. I shall, sir, briefly dwell on this point. The observant student of our progressive development must be convinced that Canada, at least, cannot remain much longer in its embryotic stage of existence. All its pulses are throbbing with the rich blood of a young and vigorous life; its organism has well nigh reached perfection; and its intellectual faculties are keenly alive to the grandeur of its destiny. All, I think, admit that a change must soon come. Now, as we are, I trust, too sensible to fall into anarchy, one of three courses is open to us—*independence, annexation, or federation.* Practically we are independent now, so far as real freedom of government is concerned. We have all the blessings of liberty without the cost of supporting a monarchy and without the social demoralization of a presidential campaign. I take it that the wiser part of this Dominion will be in no hurry to exchange this cheaply maintained liberty, for the very doubtful benefits of a costly independence as a monarchy, or for that national decadence which has ever dogged the steps of every republic the world has ever known. What shall we say of annexation? There are, I doubt not, a few unreflecting Canadians who sigh for annexation, misled by the catch cry of a vast market for our farm products, and dazzled by visions of untold wealth sure to fall, not like a summer shower, but like an autumn down-pour, over an annexed Canada. Men will have their delusions, harmless ones at times; but hurtful also on other occasions. And some men too will close their eyes to passing events and become, not dreamers of a grand and noble dream, but fretful bewailers of a past that can never return. Let us, as reasonable men, compare the condition of farmers in Canada with that of farmers in the United States. What do we find? Will any man who knows whereof he speaks dare assert that our agricultural population is behind that of the United States in education, in refinement of manners, in material comforts, or in moral and civic virtue? I am not now arguing, nor do I intend to argue, from a sentimental standpoint. I am a Canadian, loyal to Canada, proud of her, devoted to her; but so far as the "old flag" argument is concerned, I leave that to those who may think it a valid one. It is chiefly, if not wholly, to the good of Canada that I am looking. If then, it is certain, as it is certain, that the Canadian farmer is fully as prosperous, as free, and more clear of debt than his brother in the United States, what inducement is there for him to sink his national aspiration, and to become an insignificant factor of an uncogent community. Surely there is none. And yet those who have been asleep for the last ten or fifteen years tell of the fabulous prices which farm products would bring were we only annexed to the United States. Sir, the prices of the past can never be realized again. Fourteen years ago oats sold readily in P. E. I., for fifty cents a bushel. We had, some

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will say, reciprocity then. Yes; but to-day oats can be bought for much less than that in New York. Pork, at that time, found a ready market at eight cents,—now it can be bought for less than six in New York. And so we might go through the list of farm products and we would find that allowing for the expense of transportation these products are nearly as cheap in New York as in P.E.I. or in Nova Scotia. And with the still further opening up of the farming lands of western states, the cheapening of the cost of production, and increased facilities of transportation, it is more than probable that all the products of the farm will be cheaper in New York and Boston than in Halifax or Montreal. It is time for men who pretend to lead public opinion to wake up to the changed conditions of the agricultural industry in the past decade; and to the still greater changes in the near future.

There is another small section of Canadians in favor of annexation. Some are men of intellectual parts, and fired with aspirations of political greatness. They think they perceive a wider field for the successful employment of these talents in an annexed Canada. To these I would merely say: become one with us; help to lay broad and deep the foundations of a world circling power. It will afford ample scope for all legitimate ambitions, and be a work worthy of the mightiest intellects. There are, however, others of this section less worthy of respect. They are men who have not courage to face great national problems, but think it wisdom to become the Cassandra of every noble undertaking. These men have for leader and mouthpiece Goldwin Smith, the peripatetic prophet of pessimism. Because forsooth, his own life has been a dismal failure,—because his overweening vanity was badly injured in its collision with Canadian common sense,—because we would not take phrases void of sense for apothegms of wisdom, he, the fossilized enemy of local autonomy, and the last defender of worn out bigotry, has put his feeble curse on Canadian nationality, and assumed the leadership of the gruesome crowd of Mrs. Gummages who see no future for Canada but vassalage to the United States. Let them, if it so pleases, wring their hands in cowardly despair. But are we, the descendants of mighty races, the inheritors of a vast patrimony, the heirs of noble traditions, so poor in resources, or so degenerate, as to know no form of action save the tears and hand wringings of dismal forebodings? It is an insult, and should be resented as such to be told that annexation is our destiny. The promoters of imperial federation are called dreamers. Well, their dream is, at least, an ennobling one,—one that appeals to all the noble sentiments of manhood. But what are we to say to the dreary prophets of evil, the decriers of their country, the traitors of their magnificent inheritance. They are not dreamers; they are the dazed victims of a hideous nightmare, to be kindly reasoned with when sincere; to be remorselessly thrust aside when acting the demagogue. The principle of Canadian nationality has taken too firm

a hold of our people to permit them to merge their distinct life in that of a nation whose institutions give no warrant of permanency, as they afford no guarantee of real individual and religious liberty. Independence then and annexation being both out of the question there remains imperial federation. As we have shown it does not intrench on local rights, but pre-supposes them, and ensures their continuance. We are taunted with not offering a detailed plan of federation. Well, this taunt simply proves that we are not of the school of doctrinaire fools, who think that a constitution may be written out, somewhat after the manner of a geometrical demonstration, by reasoning from abstract principles, and theoretical identities. The man of theory in mechanics will tell you that in such a system of pulleys a power of such a value will raise a weight of so many pounds; but the practical mechanic knows that it will not. Allowance must be made for friction, for the rigidity of cordage and for other impediments. And so in the work of planning constitutions, the practical wisdom to be gained by experience, by interchange of views, and by a careful study of interests involved is required; not the crude theories of abstract reasoners. When the barons of England, headed, I may remind you, by an archbishop, made a stand for constitutional freedom, they were satisfied to lay down a few general principles, leaving it to the experience of successive generations to develop and mould them into organic shape. So it is with us. We move now on broad lines; the resolution in hand indicates the general outline of the federation idea, but only intelligent discussion, patient labor on the part of men in every portion of the empire, and widening knowledge of our mutual commercial interests can fill in the details. All this will come in good time; all this is fast approaching. The problem of Imperial Federation will soon be ripe for solution, then it will be solved. Nations can, if they will, rise to the height of their destinies. The seeming puzzles to-day will be the sport of school boys to-morrow. We Canadians with our untold sources of wealth, and our unsurpassed facilities by sea and land, would be the veriest cravens that ever disgraced humanity, were we to fold our hands in helpless despondency, and shrink from facing the national problem that confronts us. Placed between the old time usages of Europe, and the more flippant manners of the United States, we have learned what to avoid in the laws of each, and now stand forth as the model of liberty that is not license, and of order born of justice and nourished by a respect for mutual rights. With all these advantages are we fitted to be, and we will surely be, the prime factor in imperial federation. Let us realize the vastness of our resources, the advantages of our situation, and as a consequence, our responsibility to the human race. The blessing which we enjoy we should seek to diffuse; this we can do by helping to build up a federation of autonomous states united not for purposes of aggression but for the maintenance of mutual rights; and the protection of common interests—a feder-

ation of which justice and religion shall be the basis, and well ordered liberty the result. This may be called a dream, even as all great undertakings have been so named in their initial stages; but it is what Longfellow calls

Insanity of noble minds,
That never falters nor abates
Till all that it foresees, it finds,
Or what it cannot find, creates."

I have much pleasure in moving this resolution.

O. H. Cahan

seconded the resolution. He said that the question under discussion was a momentous one, involving as its solution did the political destiny not only of the people of the British Isles but also that of the British dominion throughout the world. It was proposed to lay the foundations of the Britannic Empire upon a broader foundation and to raise thereon a political super-structure which would give full liberty to all and combine the resources of all for the maintenance of the unity of the empire. English statesmen had been too apt to look upon the British Isles as comprising the whole Britannic Empire; and by reason of the very narrowness of their view they had deceived themselves into believing that the problem of local self government in their own kingdom concerned the unity or the dismemberment of the British Empire. When they take a broader view, they see that the real unity of the empire is a more momentous issue, and that the problem of Imperial Federation involves the question of home rule inasmuch as its advocates assert as the cardinal principle of that movement that the control of local parliaments over local affairs shall remain wholly untouched and unrestricted. The time is at hand when Great Britain must decide whether she will confer upon the subjects of the crown throughout the empire all the rights, and privileges, with all the responsibilities of British citizenship; and when the colonies must decide whether they will accept these responsibilities and assist in working out the Imperial destiny of the British race. English statesmen had profited from the mistake of Grenville and Lord North, when they had refused the rights of citizenship to the New England States and had provoked them into working out their own political destiny on independent lines. In England the idea of Imperial Federation had received the endorsement of leading statesmen of both parties, and was now pressing rapidly to its own solution. But it was urged that no practical scheme had been proposed! No formal constitution could at once be formulated. The constitution of England was of organic growth. It had at first been a royal rule, then governed by an aristocracy and now by the democracy. The problem was to extend this democracy so that for Imperial affairs it shall include not only the British Isles but the twelve millions of British subjects in Canada, Australia, South Africa and the West Indies. British statesmen had solved more difficult problems in constitutional government.

He did not admit that the British mind had become so enfeebled that it was now unequal to the task proposed. But it was urged that Canadians should remain inactive, and the problem of their political destiny would reach its own solution. But what the vital energy of the plant was to its organic growth, so the will and determination of the public mind was to the development of its political destiny. The advocates of Imperial Federation were convinced that the Imperial unity of the Empire would prove most advantageous to the British race. They did not know what possibilities might now be quickening into life in the womb of the future. They were educating public sentiment. Two pieces of steel when cold or merely warm could not be welded together, but raise them to the white heat and they become permanently united at one stroke of the hammer. One great event in the history of Germany had in a few months effected the union of its deserver dominions and principalities. Let the United States, for instance refuse to ratify the fishery treaty which their own executive have negotiated, let them instead put in force the retaliatory measure and cut off all Canadian commerce, and one such single act would raise sentiment in England and Canada to the white heat, and in a few months perhaps effect their close and permanent federation. In his Jubilee ode Tennyson had voiced the aspiration of the people of the mother country:

"Sharers of our glorious past,
Brothers, must we part at last?
Shall not we thro' good and ill
'leave to one another still?
Britain's myriad voices call,
'Sons, be welded, each and all,
Into one Imperial whole—
One with Britain heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!"

Australasia was reaching the reply "we will!" From Toronto, Ottawa and from Halifax Canadians were sending back the same answer. Give them the full rights and privileges of British citizenship, and they will unite to consolidate their common Empire. Germany had already furnished them an illustrious example. Its deserver principalities and dominions had become unified; they had a controlling voice in swaying the destinies of Europe. At the February meeting of the Reichstag, Bismarck had voiced the national aspiration of the German people when he said "we Germans fear God but none else." A still greater destiny in promoting the civilization and in maintaining the peace of the civilized world was open to the British people if they resolutely worked out the problem of Imperial Federation.

Stipendiary Motton

said the idea of Imperial Federation, as expressed in the resolution, might well challenge the enthusiastic and unqualified support of the meeting, composed of the loyal citizens of Halifax. It need not be a matter of surprise that the discussion of this subject would necessarily provoke opposition and encounter hostile criticism by some who were uninformed on the subject and by

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others who preferred disintegration to federation. But the opposition which assailed the motives of the promoters of the scheme, was opposition that was perfectly harmless and one which it would be a waste of time to answer. It would be a very great misfortune however, if the initial stages of this agitation met no opposition whatever—it would presage absolute failure. As a loyal British subject he did not desire to shrink from the responsibility of endorsing the sentiments of the resolution. The Colonial Empire is seeking consolidation—to become an integral portion of the realm of England—that will draw towards the mother country in closer fellowship and union the hearts of millions predisposed to loyalty and affection. We invite that opposition which will oppose Federation on its merits—we accord to all the unrestricted right and opportunity of public discussion without impugning motives. The objects of the league are the permanent unity of the Empire. That no scheme of federation shall interfere with existing rights of Colonial parliaments that the scheme shall combine on equitable basis the resources of the Empire for maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights. And further adopting the language of the league literature, we invite unity of sympathy, interest, purpose, of every lover of his country's welfare. But the consummation of this is only a question of time. We are simply asking in the resolutions the affirmation of a grand idea embodying a sentiment that will find a response in every loyal breast—the accomplishment of which will be unity of empire in bond of friendship and permanent alliance; that will be a guarantee of peace and consequent advancement of the human race. It will not be until this Federation is so accomplished that we will be able to realize the true greatness and magnitude of the British Empire. Dr. Partridge in his address had inspired him with a martial feeling, but he was glad he had not committed himself to a declaration of war; and if in an ungarded moment he had done so, it is not unlikely he would follow the example of the sailor, who in one of Nelson's battles was found upon his knees praying amidst the fire of shot and shell, and, when asked by his officer what he was praying for, said he was "praying that the shots might be divided like the prize money—the largest share amongst the officers. (Laughter.) He hoped that the magnitude and importance of this movement would lift our people above "the mire and muck of party." The people desire more information upon the subject. Let the literature of the League be more widely disseminated—and the motives and principles of the friends and promoters of Federation will be thoroughly appreciated and understood. He (the speaker) looked upon the Union Jack, that grand old flag that surrounded the platform, and he hoped that as true and loyal citizens of this loyal city of Halifax,

we would endorse heartily the resolution before the audience. He closed by quoting the following poem written by the late Hon. Joseph Howe on the old flag:

"Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving—
The Rose of Old England the roadside perfumes;
The Shamrock and Thistle the north winds are braving,
Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms."

And speaking of England:
"Every flash of her genius our pathway enlightens—
Every field she explores we are beckoned to tread.
Each laurel she gathers our future day brightens—
We joy with her living, and mourn for her dead."

W. C. Silver

in supporting the resolution remarked that enough had been said about the principles of consolidating the British Empire. After moving the resolution the speaker went on to deal with the objections that had been put forward to the scheme of Imperial Federation. The idea of persons refusing to support such a scheme because the means of effecting it were not at the present moment perfectly transparent, was too absurd to notice. The time had come when every British subject should have a voice in the affairs of the British Empire. He attributed the present condition of trade between England and the Colonies to the fault of the English people themselves. He dwelt at some length on the tariff, and also dealt with the objections to Imperial Federation on the ground of European complications and expensive wars, and the objection of the Monetary Times that it would be imprudent now after governing ourselves for so long a period to hand the government of the Colonies over to the British. He commented on the trade relations, and said that the growing trading capacity of the Colonies required an actuation in the relationship of the Colonies and mother country. He considered it a good omen to see the ladies present as their smiles generally augured success to anything upon which they bestowed them. He moved the following resolution:

That this meeting, in view of the beneficial benefits which have followed from the Colonial Conference, which was convened at London last year, heartily approves the recent action of the Executive of the Halifax Branch of the League in memorializing His Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the eve of his departure from Canada, desiring him to invite the governments of the several colonies to join in constituting a conference to devise measures for the development of reciprocal trade between the colonies under their rule, and of all with the mother country, and to discuss such other proposals, which may be made, as will tend to consolidate the common interests of the empire.

John F. Stairs,

in seconding the resolution, said Imperial Federation was the grandest issue that had yet been brought forward to be settled by public opinion. He believed that the uniting of the colonies into one grand empire would be instrumental in making trade better, far more so than to have unrestricted reciprocity. We would find a ready sale for everything of Canadian production in the markets of England, which would require more from Canada than the United States would. People imagined that by having commercial union with the United States, trade in Nova Scotia would be more extensive, but if this great measure were adopted the results to flow from it would prove both lucrative and beneficial. It is England's fault that the colonies do not trade more with the mother country than they do at present. It was the fault of her governments and her statesmen. England regards all English colonies as foreign states, and Imperial Federation will provide

for a tariff reform on the part of Great Britain whereby the products of this grand Dominion of ours will be received into English markets with a much lower tariff than the products of foreign countries will be received. The question of Imperial Federation was an important one and as soon as the scheme came into effect the country at large would grow prosperous and it would be the grandest thing that ever happened for Canada.

G. F. Fraser

said he intended to speak not less than 1½ hours, but after hearing all that had been said and considering the patience of the audience and the lateness of the hour, he would speak just one and a half minutes. There were clearly only two courses open to Canada, viz., annexation and Imperial Federation. The first was not believed in, and many objections could be urged against it. Annexation being objectionable, Imperial Federation was the only and best course.

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